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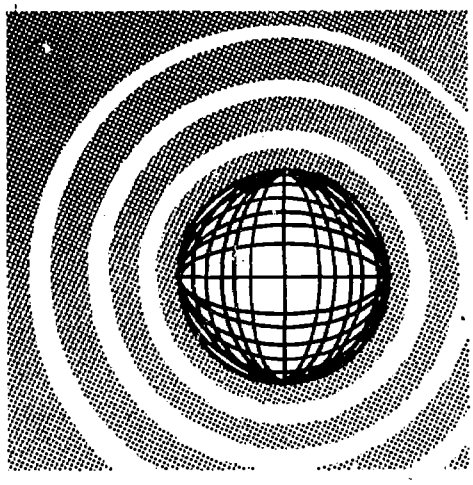
ABSTRACT

This document presents four articles concerning content analysis. The first article reviews content analysis as a research tool for higher education. Content analysis, a research methodology eminently well-suited to legislation prediction, is examined in the second article. The third article, the characterization of American student dissent in selected general circulation magazines, comments that a distinct advantage of content analysis is that the producers of the content under analysis are not aware that their product is being scrutinized. The final article, a content analysis of statements concerning students on student rights and responsibilities from policy manuals of governing boards in higher educational institutions, suggests that the researcher is able to see the emphasis of a board of governors by virtue of examining the absence or presence of items or categories of content in the written policies. (Author/MJM)

CONTENT ANALYSIS AS A RESEARCH TOOL FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Edited by DR. MELVENE DRAHEIM HARDEE



DEPARTMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION
FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

CONTENT ANALYSIS --
AS A RESEARCH TOOL FOR
HIGHER EDUCATION

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PART I

INTRODUCTION: CONTENT ANALYSIS -- AS A RESEARCH TOOL FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

by
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A research methodology commonly employed in politics, government, and related social thought is that of content analysis. Its applicability to communication in these areas was affirmed by Janowitz in his reflections on Harold Lasswell's work, World Politics and Personal Insecurity,[1] as follows:

> For more than a decade, he (Lasswell) had already used content analysis to quantify political communication and to objectify the psychoanalytical interview. In the next ten decades he and his associates were to be engaged in developing the methodology of content analysis and applying it to a variety of subject matters.....[2]

In further agreement, Berelson has described content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the "manifest content of communication."[3] He notes specifically that the analyst aims at producing a quantitative

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1 Harold Lasswell, World Politics and Personal Insecurity (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935).

2 Morris Janowitz, "Harold D. Lasswell's Contribution to Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXII (Winter, 1938-1939), pp. 646-653.

3 Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz, Public Opinion and Communication, (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p.264.

classification of a given body of content, presented in categories devised to yield data relevant to specific hypotheses concerning that content.[4]

In summation, Cartwright contends that the value of any content analysis will depend upon (1) the quality of the a priori conceptualization of the researcher, (2) the adequacy with which this conceptualization is translated into the variables of the analytic outline, and (3) the data appropriate to the variables.[5]

Perhaps it is because of the seeming dearth of highly visible studies which illustrate these conceptualizations, translations, and applications of analyses that researchers have tended to overlook the usefulness of content analysis as a research technique. In her study, Applegate cites a substantial number of studies using content analysis methodology, which include these theme variations...[6]

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[4] Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), p. 15.

[5] Dorwin P. Cartwright, "Analysis of Qualitative Material," in Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, edited by Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (New York: Dryden Press, 1953), p. 448.

[6] Phyllis J. Applegate, "A Content Analysis of Student Activism: The New York Times, July 1, 1969-June 30, 1970," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1971).

....treatment of higher education in the American press

....images of the United States in the Hispanic-American press

....images of college professors in America

....editorial attitudes toward Arab-Israeli dispute

....content of Catholic diocesan newspapers

....trends in policy preferences of American political parties

as well as

....validity of symbolic significance in the Rorschach Ink Blot Test

....content of standardized vocational interest inventories

and the capstone investigation of one researcher which was directed to a content analysis of content analysis![7] An additional dissertative study is that of Sheeder who analyzed issues identified and positions assumed by adversial groups in response to the New York State Scholar Incentive Program, from its proposal to enactment.[8]

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[7] F. Earl Barcus, "Communications Content: Analysis of Research, 1900-1958, A Content Analysis of Content Analysis." (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1959).

[8] F. Thomas Sheeder, "The New York State Scholar Incentive Program from Proposal to Enactment: A Content Analysis of the Issues and the Positions Taken on the Issues as Related by The New York Times. (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1969).

Content analysis is a research methodology eminently well suited to legislation prediction as Dr. Louis Bender states in the pages to follow. In addition, support is given in the two dissertative "distillations" of investigations by Dr. R. Neil Reynolds and Dr. Fred Badders. The former comments that a distinct advantage of this research methodology is that the producers of the content under analysis are not aware that their product is being scrutinized! The latter states that the researcher is able to see the emphases of a board of governors by virtue of examining the absence or presence of items or categories of content in the written policies.

In studies of similar nature, the aim is to describe systematically the attention paid by particular individuals or groups to specific topics. What comes to the attention of individuals these days has a very considerable relationship to what comes out of legislative deliberations and decisions.

PART II

CONTENT ANALYSIS FOR LEGISLATION PREDICTION

by
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Content analysis as a research methodology has great value for higher education officials of institutions or agencies interested in anticipating significant legislative actions. Use of the technique in the past has been limited, however, since educators traditionally adopted a posture of being aloof from the political-legislative process. With the advent of greater involvement by state legislatures in the affairs of higher education during the past decade, there is increasing evidence of the need for scholars of higher education to turn to a serious study of the legislative process and patterns of legislation prediction.

As a research methodology content analysis has been primarily used by political scientists and sociologists in their investigation of problems and issues. It is a means of keeping a finger on the pulse of society. For them that pulse beat is a major thread identified by content analysis. It can provide higher education officials with the same benefits derived by political scientists and sociologists in understanding what society is thinking and what accommodations will be expected or necessary from institutions or agencies concerned with higher education.

In its most simplistic sense, content analysis is answering the question, "What is being said?" Content analysis is concerned with the essences of communication. Obviously, legislation enacted by our elected representatives can be viewed as a form of communication which expresses the will of the public for any given period of time and for any given social institution. The purpose is to learn what society is saying in the sense of future requirements. Should the effort end with a mere historical accounting, the major value will be lost. It is the use of results in anticipating what to expect that makes the difference. Visionary thinking is sorely needed in higher education and content analysis enables leaders to deal with "futures" as well as with the present.

Values of Legislative Analysis

Content analysis of legislation has some obvious advantages over historical research. Students of a particular movement or development who rely upon written historical accounts are often subjected to individual interpretation and bias. Legislative content analysis, on the other hand, is built upon (1) authentic bills and testimony which represent primary sources of information; (2) verbatim testimony available from the documents of public hearings; (3) accurate time frames developed from

the dates and patterns evidenced by the dates of legislative activity, and (4) determination of different interests or regional differences of the state by relating news stories to proposed legislation and recorded testimony to fill in gaps and to complete the picture.

Classifying Legislation

Legislation affecting higher education can be classified into two major areas. The first and most important is that of substantive directional legislation. The second classification is procedural-operational legislation which typically relates to procedural issues.

The phenomenal growth of higher education during the past decade has, in the minds of many, been surpassed only by the increased financial cost to state governments for its support. Legislatures have been generous in responding to the public pressure for greater access to educational opportunity and through substantive directional legislation have created new or additional institutions which respond to egalitarian goals. They have assumed a responsibility for creating and supporting a system of public and private higher education unsurpassed throughout the world.

Such growth and investment has not been without pains and frustrations, however. Legislatures have

reacted to the percolations of student unrest, faculty extremism and administrative short-sightedness by enacting many laws which impinge upon the daily operations of institutions and are viewed by many as repressive and infringing upon legitimate higher education prerogatives. Laws covering minimum teaching loads, dormitory regulations, student conduct standards and initiation of program budgeting systems are examples of procedural-operational types of legislation which frequently are testimony to the reflex reactions of legislatures more than any overall substantive legislation.

Substantive directional legislation directly or indirectly influences the very aims of higher education and may be expected to shape some aspects of the institution for the long-range future. In a sense, it reflects the voice of the legislature in determining the type and scope of ball game to be played and the degree of importance which can be attached. Procedural-operational legislation, on the other hand, is often less visible over extended periods of time even though the immediate effects may be far more disconcerting to the daily operation of the institution. Loopholes typically are found in this type of legislation in order for the institution to serve the larger purposes and needs of society.

Analysis of immediate social events may well be a better predictor of procedural-operational legislation than would content analysis of legislative documents and bills.

Content Analysis Approach to Substantive-directional Legislation

The approach to content analysis for analyzing patterns and trends leading to substantive-directional legislation involves a methodology which includes:

(1) Verification of the pattern or cycle of legislative bills introduced over an extended period of time.

(2) Analysis of the content of the bills to determine patterns of content correlation and/or amendment modification which reflect the input of special interest groups.

(3) Examination of the histories of the state legislature to provide evidence of the level of support or opposition to the legislation.

(4) Analysis of the committees where bills have "died" to reveal evidence of special interests or of opposition to the legislation.

(5) Determination of the climate or readiness for enactment of the bill by relating testimony before committees to the current events of the year in which the legislation is being concerned.

Examples

For the purpose of illustrating the use of content analysis of substantive-directional legislation, two areas will be used: the community college and state level coordination.

I. Community College Legislation:

The decade of the 60's has been described as the period when the community college came of age. Enabling legislation passed between 1960 and 1964 for the first time created the new institution in 19 states. Observers have wondered at the rapid action taken in such a short time span. The superficial appearance might be that of a flash fire which unexplainably ignited and raced across the nation. Yet deeper analysis of legislative efforts of the states would reveal this directional legislation had been in process for several decades. By studying the legislative bills and records of the legislative hearings, one can see how this directional legislation could have been anticipated at some point in time. As a volcano may erupt with an apparent spontaneity, so these laws erupt but both after an extended period of internal upheaval.

An analysis of the enabling legislation for community colleges in Pennsylvania will be given as an illustration. While the Community College Act of 1963 evolved from eighteen different bills introduced in the House or Senate during that year, the seed for that law was planted twenty-six years before when in 1937 a bill was introduced in the Senate which would have authorized school districts to establish junior colleges and nurseries. That first effort was thwarted when the section of the bill dealing with junior colleges was deleted before it was sent to the House for concurrence. A similar bill introduced in the House during the same session died in committee without being considered. Nevertheless, as the able in Appendix I will show, at least one legislative bill was introduced in every session[1] thereafter except in 1943 during the Second World War.

As outlined in a previous article,[2] the legislation enacted following the Second World War was influenced

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1 The Pennsylvania General Assembly had operated on the basis of biennial legislativ. essions on each odd numbered year and then acted upon appropriations on even numbered years. It now operates annually with both legislation and appropriations handled concurrently.

2 Louis W. Bender and Elwood A. Shoemaker, "Miracles Do Happen: The Pennsylvania Cc munity Colleges," Junior College Journal, Vol. 42, No. 1, August/September, 1971.

to a great extent by the G.I. Bill of Rights. This had the effect of delaying the advent of community colleges because of legislative authorization for existing accredited colleges and universities to establish temporary college centers or branch campuses throughout the Commonwealth to serve the flood of veterans seeking admission after the war. However, the grassroot pressure for community colleges could be seen in reports of Task Force Committees appointed by the Governor in 1955, 1957, and in 1960. Legislative bills continued to be introduced with opposition to community colleges by various interest groups who maintained the purpose and mission of that institution was already being met through existing institutions.

The pattern of proposed bills is not only interesting but indicative of the turbulence taking place prior to legislation calling for a model which would be acceptable to the various publics. Efforts for a free city college (municipal junior colleges) were counterbalanced by rural pressures of school districts for "Junior Colleges" which would have added the thirteenth and fourteenth years to existing high schools. The tug and pull between these two forces can be seen in the fact that the 1937 bill for free city colleges was introduced in each biennial

legislative session for twenty-two years except for 1943 (1939, 1941, 1945, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957 and 1959). The rural interests were less active in reintroducing their bill but obviously were effective in blocking passage of the free city college legislation. This is understandable in view of the role of the Pennsylvania land-grant institution which had a system of county agents and branch campuses insisting that community needs were being satisfied by the existing arrangements and the rural block was against the "cities" getting anything the counties did not get. Thus an impasse was to develop because the perceived importance of the issue was not sufficiently great to force either compromise or a strong fight leading to concessions.

The competing proposals for a community college system in Pennsylvania represented the interests of county superintendents, state colleges, the Pennsylvania State University, school districts, vocational educators and high school principals. Each sought a model according to its own orientation in legislative hearings. Nevertheless, the readiness for community college education in Pennsylvania had come about and it would have been predictable that some form of new community institution would be established in that state.

II. State Level Coordination and Governance:

Another area of directional legislation occurring during the decade of the 60's was the legislative provision for state level regulatory coordinating or governing boards. Berdahl's study in 1969 reflected a trend from an analysis of the laws over thirty years which revealed a magnetic pull toward greater state level direction of higher education.

Number of States in Each Category of Coordinating Agency[3]

Category		1939	1949	1959	1964	1969
I.	No State agency	33	28	17	11	2
II.	Voluntary association	0	3	7	4	2
IIIa.	Coordinating board	1	1	2	3	2
IIIb.	Coordinating board	0	0	3	8	11
IIIc.	Coordinating board	1	2	5	7	14
IV.	Consolidated governing board	15	16	16	17	19

IIIb. (advisory) IIIc. (regulatory)

We can illustrate how content analysis can be used within a state to anticipate legislation having such

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[3] Robert O. Berdahl, Statewide Coordination of Higher Education, American Council on Education, Washington, 1971, Table 4, p. 35.

directional impact over higher education. J. Douglas Machesney used content analysis of legislation, public testimony, and public documents to study the development of higher education governance and coordination in West Virginia.[4] Machesney covered the period from 1863 until 1969 when the West Virginia Board of Regents was created and charged with the responsibility for all higher education in that state. During the one hundred and two years inbetween, West Virginia experienced various state level designs of control ranging from seven different boards at one time until the single coordinating board was established in 1969.

While it is interesting to note the historical pattern over a century, we shall concentrate on the twelve-year period between 1957 and 1969 when legislative efforts were made to move from voluntary coordination among several different policy-making boards to a state governing board for all higher education.[5]

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[4] John Douglas Machesney, "The Development of Higher Education, Governance and Coordination in West Virginia", An unpublished dissertation: West Virginia University, 1971.

[5] The reader is referred to Appendix II which is reproduced from the Machesney study and which shows the different provisions that existed from time to time. Content analysis of legislative bills between 1909 and 1918 would have enabled the researcher to predict the removal of budgetary and business control from the jurisdiction of the State Board of Control which was impinging upon the educational matters assigned to a different policy-making board. This did not materialize totally until 1947, however.

Actually, one of the pressures pushing for change in higher education governance could be seen in the dichotomy between elementary and secondary education interests on one hand and higher education interests on the other. Furthermore, institutional priorities of West Virginia University opposed to the fledgling state college system were also evident as attempts were made to get the governance of the state colleges out of the hands of the State Board of Education while at the same time the university sought to remain separate and apart from any state higher education policy body. The initial result was a press for voluntary coordination with each attempting to remain apart while assuming a total program would be equal to the sum of the individual parts. Somehow it was supposed that such a total program would also equate a comprehensive and appropriate higher education program.

According to Machesney the attempt to create a state board for higher education in 1957 was influenced by the 1954 Supreme Court decision requiring integration of all institutions. When the two black state institutions were "integrated", there was pressure to bring their governing boards together with the others. This attempt for a single board was made repeatedly from one block while another pressed for a coordinating board with very

limited powers. This latter block favored only advisory responsibility at the state level. But testimony before legislative committees and reports of study groups were saying West Virginia was wasting resources and not receiving appropriate benefits because of the absence of a unified program of higher education.

Machesney observed, "From actions of the 1967 Legislature, it was clear that the stage was set for some type of statutory coordination ... (which) remained a controversial issue." He continued, "Opposition to changes in the structure of higher education in 1968 came, as it had in previous years, mainly from the supporters of West Virginia University." Then he later states, "By 1969 it was obvious that a change in the structure of West Virginia higher education was inevitable."[6] In that year the Legislature created the West Virginia Board of Regents.

These brief overviews of community college legislation in Pennsylvania and governing board legislation in West Virginia hopefully illustrate the potential for content analysis of substantive directional-legislation. Other illustrations could have been used such as the advent

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[6] Machesney, Ibid. pp. 106-110.

of professional negotiations (collective bargaining) in New York or Pennsylvania. Many states are now in the evolutionary stages of this directional legislation and content analysis as suggested here could be a valuable tool for officials in those states to glean some of the basic parameters with which they will probably be working in a few brief years.

Conclusion

Content analysis of legislation can be a valuable research tool. Ideally it should deal with the following elements, (1) Understand the political climate. Changes in the political balance of power within a state or a change of administration or the relationship between the executive and legislative branches can often establish a climate which is conducive to or obstructionistic to legislation being enacted. (2) Determine the special interests concerned with the legislation. It is generally understood that most legislation enacted is a compromise between conflicting parties. Analysis of special interest group input to the legislative process is important, particularly in detecting major modifications or concessions which will tip the blance toward one or the other direction and lead to action. (3) Understand the social context of the times. Content analysis of legislation

for historical understanding is relatively simple. Use of the methodology for prediction is more complex in view of the impact external forces and conditions can have. A shift in national priorities or a requirement to respond to crisis because of world conditions can skew the patterns of proposed legislation or divert legislative attention to a different matter entirely. Nevertheless, the technique is useful and the activity involved offers many insights and interesting experiences as well.

Appendix I

OUTLINE OF PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATION RELATED TO COMMUNITY COLLEGES 1937-63

The sources for the information provided in this outline of legislation included the Histories of both the Senate and the House of Representatives and the collection of bills preserved in the State Library. These bills are kept in bound books entitled: White House Bills and Pink Senate Bills (until 1955), and Pennsylvania House of Representatives Bills and Pennsylvania Senate Bills (after that date). The information on the bills of the 1969-1970 session was taken from the "State Legislative Review" published by the Office of Legislative Services in the Pennsylvania Department of Education.

For the sake of consistency House Bills are always listed first, and the listing is by bill number rather than printer's number. Any bills introduced which are similar to an earlier bill are matched with the earliest similar House Bill.

The matching of two bills is not meant to imply that both bills are exactly the same; some slight changes may exist in the provisions contained in each, but the intent of each is comparable.

The provisions cited are not meant to be exhaustive; they are meant to cover the most important aspects of the bill. The more important bills, especially those which became law, are detailed more thoroughly.

For the "ACTION" column abbreviations were used to increase readability. "P.L.____" means that the bill was ultimately passed and became law. "ED" means that the bill was not reported out of the appropriate Committee on Education. "APPROPRIATIONS" means that the bill was not reported out of the Committee on Appropriations. "RULES" means that the bill was not reported out of the Committee on Rules.

The column in the years after 1963 marked "AMEND" refers to the bill being an amendment to the "Community College Act of 1963." If there is an "A" in the column, that particular bill was an amendment.

Because of the extent of time that has passed, Printer's Numbers are not cited for the bills introduced before 1963.

OUTLINE OF LEGISLATION RELATED TO COMMUNITY COLLEGES

YEAR	BILL	PROVISION	ACTION
1937	H.B. 1989	school districts of first class may establish free city colleges	ED.
	S.B. 191	schools may establish junior colleges and nursery schools--first bill to mention junior colleges	section on junior colleges taken out Sent to House ED.
1939	H.B. 679	1937 H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	S.B. 659	school districts may contract with colleges and universities for the providing of extension education	passed Senate Sent to House ED.
1941	H.B. 495	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
1945	H.B. 706	1937--S.B. 191, junior colleges	ED.
	H.B. 809	school districts are empowered to establish colleges and junior colleges	ED.
1947	H.B. 133	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	S.B. 244	accredited colleges and universities may establish temporary college centers offering first two years of college work	ACT 66
	S.B. 458	school districts may offer an extended high school course of one or two years--but of less than college level	vetoed-Governor
	S.B. 729	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
1949	H.B. 177	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	H.B. 223	McKean County Junior College is to be established as a state junior college	ED.
	H.B. 299	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	H.B. 880	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	S.B. 150	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
1951	H.B. 56	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	H.B. 57	appropriation is provided for free city colleges	ED.
	H.B. 1564	1. community colleges--defined as 13th and 14th adult education 2. established by school districts and controlled by school directors 3. programs a) pre-professional (i.e. transfer) b) semi-professional c) general	

YEAR	BILL	PROVISION	ACTION
		d) technical e) vocational f) adult education 4. required petition of 10% of eligible votes 5. full tuition for resident students 6. teachers must be certified by Superintendent of Public Instruction 7. reimbursement by state a) teaching unit X reimbursement fraction, or b) full-time student (18 semester hours) X $100	ED.
1953	H.B. 209	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	H.B. 219	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	H.B. 1643	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
1955	H.B. 393	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
1957	H.B. 435	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	H.B. 1134	school directors are authorized to establish junior colleges	ED.
	H.B. 1590	junior colleges, community colleges and technical institutes may be created by school district of the 1st and 2nd class and county boards alone or jointly--Commonwealth is required to pay for college building obligations.	ED.
	S.B. 410	school districts or county boards may establish and operate community colleges to provide higher education in the technical subjects in the public school system	ED.
1959	H.B. 1073	1957--H.B. 1134 junior colleges established by school directors	ED.
	H.B. 1940	1. community colleges may be established by school district, combination of school district, or in cooperation with a college or university 2. called on State Council of Education to develop a Master-State Plan for establishment of community colleges 3. local sponsor could levy a tax of up to 4 mills of each dollar of assessed value 4. state payment was $50/full-time student (one carrying 15 semester hours)	Passed House Sent to Senate ED.

YEAR	BILL	PROVISION	ACTION
	S.B. 440	1959--H.B.1940 establishment of community colleges by school districts	ED.
	S.B. 854	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
	S.B. 1019	1937--H.B. 1989, free city colleges	ED.
1961	H.B. 16	1959--H.B. 1134 junior college establishment by school directors	ED.
	H.B. 1702	1959--H.B. 1940 community college establishment by school districts	ED.
	S.B. 155	1959--H.B. 1940 community college establishment by school districts	ED.
	S.B. 532	counties of the second class may establish junior colleges to provide higher education in the public school system	ED.
	S.B. 612	1959--H.B. 1940 community college establishment by school districts	ED.

LEGISLATION OF 1963

BILL	PRINTER'S #	PROVISION	ACTION
H.B. 199	223	1. provides for establishment of separate community college district 2. provides for a cooperating college to establish or operate a community college 3. plan for community colleges may be submitted by either local sponsors or voters 4. board of trustees elected to office by general populace in separate community college districts otherwise appointed to office 5. president and treasurer of college appointed for terms of four years each 6. in counties of the second class the assistant county superintendent shall be president 7. reimbursement from state based on public school reimbursement fraction 8. students tuition share, 33% 9. state share of capital costs to be 50% 10. provisions for payment of tuition by sponsor and state for students attending private junior colleges	ED.

BILL	PRINTER'S #	PROVISION	ACTION
H.B. 361	400	1963--H.B. 199, but defines programs and curricula of community colleges, not necessary that board of trustees in a community college district be elected; no terms of office for president or treasurer.	ED.
H.B. 389	429	1963--H.B. 199, but assistant county superintendent need not be president	ED.
H.B. 456	504	1963--H.B. 199, but assistant county superintendent need not be president	ED.
H.B. 457	505	1963--H.B. 199, but assistant county superintendent need not be president	ED.
H.B. 514	571	1963--H.B. 199, establishment of separate community college districts	ED.
H.B. 770	869	appropriations are for the establishment of community colleges which operate as a branch of existing institutions	Counties
H.B. 1066	2348	1961 H.B. 199, but: 1. no provisions for separate community college districts 2. no provisions for cooperating colleges 3. board of trustees elected to office by members of governing body of local sponsor 4. reimbursement based on $1,000/full-time equivalent students 5. maximum of 30% of state funds may be spent in liberal arts programs 6. an appropriation of $500,000	Approved by Gov. August 24 Act 484
H.B. 1470	1709	1963--H.B. 1066 but includes cooperating college; no discussion of reimbursement	ED.
H.B. 1796	2245	If county sponsors a community college then it may have an additional assistant superintendent who shall be appointed president of the community college.	ED.
S.B. 10	10	1963--H.B. 199, establishment of separate community college districts	ED.

BILL	PRINTER'S #	PROVISION	ACTION
S.B. 11	11	assistant county superintendent to be president of newly established public junior colleges	ED.
S.B. 80	82	1963--H.B. 199, establishment of separate community college districts	ED.
S.B. 82	84	1963--H.B. 199, establishment of separate community college districts	ED.
S.B. 81	83	1963--S.B. 11, assistant county superintendent to be president of newly established public junior colleges	ED.
S.B. 145	154	1963--S.B. 11, assistant county superintendent to be president of newly established public junior colleges	ED.
S.B. 183	192	state shall pay for each student taking minimum of 15 hours $50/semester	ED.
S.B. 138	147	1963--H.B. 361, establishment of separate community college districts without mandatory election of board of trustees	ED.

Appendix II

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN
WEST VIRGINIA HIGHER EDUCATION
1865-1971*

1867	West Virginia State Normal School established at Marshall College. Control vested in Board of Regents.
February 7, 1867	Agricultural College of West Virginia established in Morgantown. Controlled by Board of Visitors.
December 4, 1868	Legislature changed name of governing board from Visitors to Regents and name from Agricultural College to West Virginia University.
1865-1872	Branches of the State Normal were established at Fairmont, West Liberty, Glenville, Athens, and Shepherdstown. Controlled by Normal Board of Regents.
1891	West Virginia Colored Institute created. Control given to Board of Regents composed of five members.
1895	Control of West Virginia University given to non-partisan board of nine members.
February 16, 1895	Preparatory Branch of the University at Montgomery created. Controlled by a Board of Regents.
February 21, 1895	Bluefield Colored Institute created. Control vested in a Board of Regents.

*Source: John Douglas Machesney, "The Development of Higher Education Governance and Coordination in West Virginia," An unpublished dissertation: West Virginia University, 1971, Table 5, p. 127

February 15, 1901	Establishment of the Preparatory Branch of the University at Keyser. Control vested in a Board of Regents. Six separate boards of regents were in existence at this time.
1909	Educational policies of the state maintained institutions of higher learning were vested in one Board of Regents. Fiscal control of all state institutions was vested in State Board of Control.
1919	Board of Education responsible for all levels of education.
1927	Powers and duties of State Board of Education with respect to West Virginia University given to Board of Governors.
1928	Survey of education in state.
1935	Control of Potomac State School given to West Virginia University Board of Governors. Attempt to create Board of Higher Education.
1944	Governor M. M. Neely changed members of Board of Governors to effect personal reforms of West Virginia University.
1945	Strayer Report.
1947	Responsibility for fiscal management of all educational institutions removed from the Board of Control.
1956-1968	Voluntary coordination by Joint Committee of West Virginia University Board of Governors and the State Board of Education.
1957	Attempts to create a State Board of Higher Education.

1961	Board of Higher Education bill defeated.
1962	Legislation to create a coordinating board defeated
1965	House Concurrent Resolution No. 51 establishing West Virginia Committee on Higher Education to study and make recommendations concerning the state higher education system. Report of Committee on Higher Education published. Legislation creating "multiple boards" for higher education introduced. Did not pass.
1968	Multiple governing board-coordinating board legislation again defeated. Single governing board bill also defeated.
1969	West Virginia Board of Regents created.

PART III

THE CHARACTERIZATION OF AMERICAN STUDENT DISSENT IN SELECTED GENERAL CIRCULATION MAGAZINES

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This is a study of media content prompted by a specific question in a particular social setting, during a specified period of time: How have general circulation magazines presented to their reading publics the phenomenon of organized student dissent in American higher education during the period beginning January, 1960, and ending December, 1967? It should be stressed that the emphasis of the study is not upon the events themselves, however important they may be deemed, but upon a particular response to them. The producers of the content being analyzed are not aware that their product is being subjected to analytic scrutiny. The research data thus have the advantage of not being subjected to the possibilities of prejudice one might encounter in the use of questionnaires, interviews, or the like.

Magazines and Social Order

Many contemporary sociologists, especially the functionalists, have held that the maintenance of social order is a key problem in any contemporary society. The lack of assurance about the individual role in society or lack of consensus on a common societal value system is likely to result in anomie. Considered collectively, the mass communication media serve as a strong element in our society for the prevention of the mass occurrence of anomie and as an upholder of an integral form of social order.

Following this line of thought, many theorists have viewed the mass communications media as a form of adult socialization,[1]

[1]Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action", Mass Communications, ed. by Wilbur Schramm (2nd ed; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960), pp. 466-67.

or in other terms as a form of public acculturation.[2] The press functions actually as a sub-system in the established social system, acting as a guarantor of social norms by keeping a core of common values visible as a source of public consensus. The mass communications media serve, then, as selectors, composers, or nation-wide "gate-keepers" to perspectives on life and wordly views.

This same idea is expanded when one recalls that as industrial enterprises, which are themselves dependent upon and at the same time supportive of other industries, the mass media become the primary cultural arm of the industrial order viewing and presenting society from points of view concomitant with their own advantage.[3]

For the magazine publisher the struggle for existence is synonymous with the struggle to achieve continually increasing circulation. The fierce competition for subscribers has led to the common practice among mass-circulation periodicals to sell each copy at a price substantially below what it costs to produce it. This gap between selling price and production cost is made up, in addition to whatever profits are to be made, by revenue received from advertising.

An examination of the income sources for the mass media press is generally revealing of the controlling forces behind these ventures. Since 1912 there has been a steadily increasing dependence of the popular press on advertising revenue over subscription revenue which, in turn, has given the advertisers increasing influence on the nature of magazine content. Advertising, however, is naturally dependent upon circulation for its value. These two factors, circulation and advertising, thus become interdependent.

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[2] George Gerbner, "An Institutional Approach to Mass Communications Research," Communication: Theory and Research, ed. by Lee Thayer (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1967), pp. 429-51.

[3] George Gerbner, Mass Communications and Conceptions of Education, Cooperative Research Project 876 (Institute of Communications Research, College of Journalism and Communications, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1964), Appendix I, pp. 6-7 (mimeographed).

The media, then, must intentionally seek to please both their readers and their advertisers. The normal route to this achievement has been by reinforcing attitudes already held. A few magazines, of course, take exception to this principle. Some editors will make an effort to keep their magazines just slightly ahead of what they believe to be the normal toleration level of public opinion. Even here the guide is to stay ahead of the readers only to the extent that one can be absolutely certain they will catch up very soon. More typically, however, the large volume of advertising coupled with dependence upon large circulations tend to make magazines very conservative, highly imitative of each other, and likely to adopt a trend toward brevity and superficiality.[4] Furthermore, advertising combined with the technical requisites of mass production tend to produce profoundly democratized results. The dilemma of producing material that is at once interesting to several hundred thousand readers but not sufficiently controversial to alienate significant segments of the reading audience or of advertisers tends again toward a type of conservatism geared to the support of the current social and economic status quo. When occasionally critical material of a serious nature does appear in the mass media, these exceptions are sandwiched with quantities of material that is overwhelmingly conformist and thus become exceptions to prove the rule.

Dissent, the Magazine Press, and Higher Education: the Research Problem

The introduction of the foregoing concepts to the field of higher education is not an unnatural application. Contemporary American society educates its citizens about education through a process largely conducted by the mass media.[5] Focusing more specifically on students in higher education, it becomes evident that the mass media-projected image of the student role in higher education is often seriously out of tune with the image educators and students

[4]Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964, pp. 446-448.

[5]George Gerbner, "Education About Education by Mass Media," The Educational Forum, Vol. 31 (November, 1966), p. 7.

may wish to project.[6] Yet, this image as depicted in the general mass media is the only image most people have.

The area of student dissent, a particularly vital area in the context of higher education today, has directed considerable attention to colleges and universities throughout most of this past decade. A substantial body of literature in both the professional journals and the mass media has grown up around this phenomenon as it has captured the imagination of both lay and professional publics. Since only a relatively small number of educators and proportionately even fewer lay citizens have experienced personal contact with forms of organized student dissent, they come to rely (consciously or unconsciously) largely on the reports of the mass media in the formation of their opinion on this phenomenon. But, there is inherent conflict between the popular appeal press on the one hand and the concept of organized social dissent on the other. By the nature of their relations to society the two are foreordained to incompatibility. Student dissent as we experienced it throughout the decade of the sixties was essentially anti-authoritarian, opposed to the established political and administrative hierarchy, dedicated to a "grassroots" philosophy, and commited to a belief in change. The popular press, on the other hand, constitutes an industrial enterprise which is dependent upon and at the same time supportive of other industries. Thus the mass media have become the primary cultural arm of the industrial order viewing and presenting society from points of view concomitant with their own corporate advantage.[7]

The mass media today constitute recognized instruments of power and persuasion which simply cannot be ignored by higher education or any of society's principal institutions. The study described here attempts to focus on a small segment of that complex

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[6]C. G. Austin, "The Student's Public Image," Journal of Higher Education, Vol. 38 (January, 1967), pp. 38-40.

[7]George Gerbner, Mass Communications and Conceptions of Education, op. cit., Appendix I, pp. 6-7.

interaction between the mass media and one of these institutions: higher education.

This study examines the manner in which organized student dissent in American higher education is presented in selected mass-appeal or general circulation magazines from January, 1960, through December, 1967. Through a structured examination of a population of all articles directly related to organized student dissent appearing in general circulation magazines during this time, it is conjectured that valuable information can be derived on a) the opinions this phase of the mass media hold on the issue in question (not to be construed as a judgment of editorial policy but rather as a judgment of the impression communicated to the reading public); and b) how they structure the issue for their reading publics (however, no simple cause-and-effect relationship between this phase of the mass media and public opinion can be inferred.

Methods and Procedures

The population for this study includes all articles concerned specifically and directly with organized student dissent activity in American higher education appearing in selected general circulation magazines from January, 1960, through December, 1967. The following criteria were established as a method for selecting which general circulation magazines would be included in the sample.

The magazine (1) was classified as a general circulation magazine by the N. W. Ayer and Son, 1968,[8] (2) reported a circulation of at least 25,000 as defined by the same authority, and (3) was listed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Application of these criteria yielded a list of thirty magazines. (See Table 1)

Articles relevant to the purpose of this study were located by a search of Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature for the years covered in the analysis: 1960 through 1967. The headings

[8]N. W. Ayer & Son, Directory, Newspapers and Periodicals, 1968 (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, Inc., 1968).

College students
communist activities
political activities
Student activities
Student demonstrations
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Students for a Democratic Society

together with the "See Also" references were fruitful in yielding the articles sought. Examination of the titles listed under these headings and subheadings resulted in a compilation of 265 articles whose titles and/or listing in the Readers' Guide indicated their content was potential material for this study. Upon examination, however, it was discovered that only 137 (51.7%) of them dealt specifically and directly with the phenomenon of organized student dissent activity as defined for purposes of this study.

Data Collection:

The method for collecting the data for this study was carried out in the following manner:

1. All articles potentially relevant to the study were located in the Readers' Guide. Bibliographic citation cards were prepared for each item to cover the eight years of the study's inclusion.

2. The bibliographic citation cards were arranged chronologically by periodical.

3. All the articles of one magazine were analyzed before the articles of another were begun.

4. The articles were analyzed according to a previously conceived Framework for Analysis. Code sheets were prepared for each item as it was read and analyzed.

5. When the analyses were completed for all relevant articles appearing in a magazine

during the eight years covered in the study, the magazine itself was evaluated according to the analysis outline. If at least a majority of the articles indicated a particular direction, that direction was considered as characteristic of the magazine.

The Framework for Analysis

A successful content analysis study is built upon a logical progression in design. First, a problem must be isolated and defined. Then, with the identification and definition of the problem completed, the investigator must formalize a set of a priori conceptionalizations incorporating the significant variables relevant to the problem. From this, a classification system must be developed containing categories reflecting the presence or absence of these variables in the "real" world of the media content under analysis.

In accord with the procedure recommended by Berelson and other authorities in the field of content analysis,[9] the framework for analysis developed for this study evoked through a variety of means: partly from reading magazine articles of the type selected for analysis, partly from reviewing previous content analysis studies on topics remotely related to this study, partly from an examination of the professional educational literature on the phenomenon of student dissent, and partly from the introspection of the investigator.

The code sheet,[10] used to record the presence or absence of the variables included in the analysis of the media content under study, serves as an effective summarization of the framework for analysis (See Figure 1).

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[9]Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), p. 165. Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donohew, Chapter 6: "Categories," Content Analysis of Communications (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967), pp. 37-49.

[10]For a full development of the framework for analysis together with examples of content indicators and categories, the reader is referred to the full dissertation.

FIGURE 1

EXAMPLE OF CODE SHEET UTILIZED IN COLLECTING DATA
(Summarization of Framework for Analysis)

Citation:

Institution____ _____ Enrollment_____ Loc._____ Type_____

Author

___ 0 anonymous
___ 1 unsigned ed
___ 2 signed ed
___ 3 teacher, prof
___ 4 univ administ
___ 5 student diss
___ 6 st non-diss
___ 7 regular col
___ 8 prof writer
___ 9 parent

Organizations

___ 0 none
___ 1 SNCC
___ 2 SDS
___ 3 FSM
___ 4 VDC
___ 5 NSA
___ 6 NSM
___ 7 New Left
___ 8 other
___ 9

Issues

___ 0 none
___ 1 quality/instruction
___ 2 faculty affairs
___ 3 admin paternalism
___ 4 pol extreme visitors
___ 5 civil rights
___ 6 U.S. militarism
___ 7 political involvement
___ 8 other
___ 9

Activity

___ 0 none
___ 1 picket/campus
___ 2 pic/off campus
___ 3 sit-in/campus
___ 4 sit/off campus
___ 5 teach-in
___ 6 occup camp bldg
___ 7 strike
___ 8 riot condition
___ 9 other

Context

___ 0 not indic
___ 1 ed reform
___ 2 pol reform
___ 3 civ rights
___ 4 free speech
___ 5 antics
___ 6 communist
___ 7 anarchy
___ 8 other
___ 9

Socio-Econ Background

___ 0 not indic
___ 1 upper lower
___ 2 lower middle
___ 3 middle middle
___ 4 upper middle
___ 5 lower upper
___ 6 middle upper
___ 7
___ 8
___ 9

Academic Interests

___ 0 not indic
___ 1 social sciences
___ 2 humanities
___ 3 sciences
___ 4 professions
___ 5 business
___ 6 technical
___ 7
___ 8
___ 9

Political Orientation

___ 0 not indic
___ 1 conservative
___ 2 mid-road
___ 3 liberal
___ 4 new left
___ 5 old left
___ 6 apolitical
___ 7
___ 8
___ 9

Intellectual Commitment

___ 0 not indic
___ 1 vocational
___ 2 seldom
___ 3 anti-intell
___ 4 one area
___ 5 networks
___ 6 none
___ 7 other: positive
___ 8 other: negative
___ 9

Direction: _____ Pro _____ Neutral _____ Con

Two significant groups of articles, book reviews and letters to the editor were excluded from the study because they did not deal directly with dissent activity; rather the concern was indirect and especially in the case of book reviews, often contained statements that appeared contradictory in the context of the code sheets. Also eliminated were those articles whose content referred to student dissent or student unrest without the identification of specific instances of dissent activity, for example, those articles whose approach to the topic tended to be philosophical rather than reportorial. These were eliminated on the grounds that they did not deal specifically with the phenomenon in question.

Presentation of Findings

Direction: Pro-Neutral-Con

After the analysis of each article was completed, a judgment was made on the likelihood of a positive, negative, or neutral effect of the article and accompanying illustrational material on the reader toward the phenomenon of organized student dissent. If the article was judged to express sympathy for a particular event involving student dissent, or if it expressed approval or sympathy toward the aims of the dissent activity, the article was judged positive in its likely effect on the reader. On the other hand, if the article was judged to express rejection of a particular event, or refused to accept the legitimacy of the concept of organized student dissent, it was judged to be negative in its likely effect on the reader. Finally, if the article was judged not to have made an overt attempt to bias the reader either positively or negatively, but gave the impression of objective coverage of the phenomenon in question, then the article was judged to be neutral.

Table 1 reflects the distribution of the pro-neutral-con attitudes of the 137 articles. As indicated, 43.1 per cent of the articles were neutral; 27.0 per cent presented a positive attitude; 29.9 per cent reflected negatively on the phenomenon of student dissent activity.

Though the difference between the number of articles reflecting positively or negatively on student dissent is very small, 37 positive articles (27.0%) versus 41 negative articles (29.9%),

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF PRO-NEUTRAL-CON ARTICLES ON ORGANIZED STUDENT DISSENT IN GENERAL CIRCULATION MAGAZINES

Magazines	Circulation	Pro	Neutral	Con	Total No. Articles
Atlantic	300,818	2	1		3
Commentary	54,762	1		2	3
Commonweal	42,217	8			8
Life	7,417,712	1	3	4	8
Look	8,212,303		2		2
The Nation	29,470	13	4		17
National Review	91,211			12	12
New Republic	119,369	6	5		11
Newsweek	2,090,563	1	12	3	16
New Yorker	473,275		3		3
Reader's Digest	17,104,119			1	1
The Reporter		1	2	2	5
Saturday Evening Post	6,747,424	1	1	2	4
Saturday Review	490,784	2	4		6
Time	3,710,574	1	17		18
U. S. News & World Report	1,580,536		5	15	20
Total		37	59	41	137
% of Total		27.0	43.1	29.9	

the difference that appears when the cumulative reading audience (as measured by circulation figures) is determined is noteworthy.

The six magazines comprising the negative articles have a cumulative circulation of 32,995,764 (See Table 1). The four magazines carrying articles which reflect positively on student dissent have a comparable circulation of only 491,874, a cumulative figure smaller than the individual circulations of all but two of the magazines carrying negatively oriented articles. The negative articles, then, would appear to have a potential reading audience of 67.1 times greater than the positive articles.

Those five magazines judged neutral in their articles' presentation of student dissent occupy a middle ground, also, in terms of cumulative circulation figures: 14,977,499. One magazine, The Reporter, had an equal number of articles judged to be neutral and negative.

It is to be noted that the four magazines in which the positively oriented articles appeared are among the most respected and most influential magazines being published in America today. It is generally claimed by mass communication scholars that these magazines (Atlantic, Commonweal, The Nation, and New Republic) exert an influence on the opinions of the national leadership that far exceeds the influence that may be inferred from their relatively low circulation figures. All these magazines are examples of quality, influential journals of relatively small circulation which must be considered apart from the conventional concept of the magazine as principally a business venture, which is the manner in which consumer magazines are generally viewed. Whereas the publisher of the more typical consumer magazine characterized by large circulation figures believes that he can exert influence by appealing to the greatest number of readers, i.e., the middle-income mass audience, the quality, or idea, magazines have adopted a counter philosophy: that the smaller audience of higher educational and economic achievement is likely to have more influence on the course of affairs in the long run. These magazines specialize, as it were, in courting controversial ideas likely to invite criticism from the general public, but at the same time likely to be more influential with that minority of the thinking public comprising the avant garde in the area of social development.

Institution

During the coding process for each article in the sample, a record was kept for each college or university specifically identified as the scene of an incident of organized student protest. Later, additional information was collected on these institutions (See Figure 1):

a. geographical region of the institution

The geographic regions correspond to the six regional accrediting areas:

1. E: New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
2. M: Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
3. S: Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
4. N: North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
5. W: Western Association of Schools and Colleges
6. NW: Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools

b. institutional type

1. Public university
2. Independent University
3. Public Liberal Arts College
4. Independent Liberal Arts College
5. Catholic Institution
6. Protestant Institution
7. Teachers College
8. Technical Institution

c. fall, 1964, enrollment

Enrollment was arbitrarily selected for Fall, 1964, also the time span during which the greatest number of articles on organized stu-

dent dissent was published. A single typical enrollment figure is considered adequate to the purpose of this study since the relative size of the institutions under examination is more significant than the exact enrollment of any one year or combination of years.

Table 2 reflects this compilation of information listing the institutions in the order of the number of mentions encountered in the total sample of articles. That three of the four most frequently mentioned institutions were the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Michigan, and the University of Wisconsin (Madison) is not surprising in the light of the prominent role these institutions have played as centers of activism in the student protest movement. As reflected in this table, the mass consumer magazines have apparently been rather effective in identifying for their reading publics the principal campuses on which dissent occurs. The high ranking of Harvard, equating it with the University of Michigan as the second most frequently mentioned institution in the sample, is probably attributable to the natural attraction of the press and the public to the Ivy League Institutions. Over half (7) of the Harvard mentions were generated by one incident in the fall of 1967 when the Harvard students barricaded a campus representative from the Dow Chemical Company in a room for several hours, preventing him from executing his recruitment function.

Author

Other than those articles attributed anonymously (which accounted for the largest number) or to parents of university students (a category for which no articles were found in the population), the author-types can be collected into three larger categories as indicated below:

Career Writers	Editorial Reflections
Professional Writers	Unsigned Editorials
Regular Columnists	Signed Editorials

University-Related
Teacher-Professor
University Administrator

TABLE 2

INSTITUTIONS IDENTIFIED AS THE SCENE OF ORGANIZED STUDENT PROTEST

Institution (N = 42)	Total Mentions (N = 176)	Geo-graphical Region	Type Institution	1964 Enroll-ment
UC at Berkeley	52	W	Pub. Univ.	27,431
Harvard University	12	E	Indep. Univ.	12,995
Univ. of Michigan	12	N	Pub. Univ.	32,415
Univ. of Wisconsin (Mad.)	11	N	Pub. Univ.	26,293
Yale University	8	E	Indep. Univ.	8,653
Columbia University	7	M	Indep. Univ.	24,693
City College of CUNY	6	M	Pub. Univ.	32,774
Univ. of Chicago	5	N	Indep. Univ.	8,943
Brown University	5	E	Indep. Univ.	4,630
University of Iowa	4	N	Pub. Univ.	14,480
St. John's University	4	M	Catholic Inst.	13,052
San Francisco State Coll.	4	W	Pub. Lib. Arts C.	21,731
Stanford University	4	W	Indep. Univ.	10,735
Howard University	3	M	Indep. Univ. (Natl)	7,430
Univ. of Kansas	3	N	Pub. Univ.	13,475
Univ. of Minnesota	3	N	Pub. Univ.	33,797
Univ. of Texas	3	S	Pub. Univ.	26,772
Princeton University	3	M	Indep. Univ.	4,416
Univ. of Illinois	2	N	Pub. Univ.	37,536
Boston College	2	E	Catholic Inst.	9,329
Indiana University	2	N	Pub. Univ.	36,397
Brandeis University	1	E	Indep. Univ.	1,994
Brooklyn College of CUNY	1	M	Pub. Univ.	22,182
Catholic Univ. of America	1	M	Catholic Inst.	6,013
Central State University	1	N	Pub. Univ.	2,521
Cornell University	1	M	Indep. Univ.	13,544
Dartmouth College	1	E	Indep. Lib.Arts C.	3,504
Fairleigh Dickinson Univ.	1	M	Indep. Univ.	16,814
Miami Univ.	1	N	Pub. Univ.	14,798
Oberlin College	1	N	Indep. Lib.Arts C.	2,647
Radcliffe College	1	E	Indep. Lib.Arts C.	1,170
Rutgers, The State Univ.	1	M	Pub. Univ.	24,841
St. John's Seminary	1	E	Catholic Inst.	406
SUNY at Buffalo	1	M	Pub. Univ.	18,615
Syracuse Univ.	1	M	Indep. Univ.	20,036
Trinity College	1	E	Indep. Lib.Arts C.	1,524
Tufts College	1	E	Indep. Univ.	4,800
UC at Los Angeles	1	W	Pub. Univ.	23,724
Univ. of Pennsylvania	1	M	Indep. Univ.	18,796
Univ. of South Carolina	1	S	Pub. Univ.	9,900
Washington Univ.	1	N	Indep. Univ.	14,243
Wayne State Univ.	1	N	Pub. Univ.	25,200

Student Non-Dissenter
Student Dissenter

Of these three categories, the largest number of articles (26.2%) were written by career writers; those articles authored by University-Related authors accounted for 21.2 per cent; and editorial reflections for 14.6 per cent. Fifty-two articles (38.0% of the total) were attributed anonymously; these, obviously, are not included in the three categories above. The overwhelming majority of these anonymous articles result from the editorial policies of the weekly news magazines. Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report account respectively for fourteen, eighteen, and fifteen, or a total of 47 of the 52 anonymous articles.

Two of the categories, Career Writers and University-Related authors, tended to produce predominantly positive articles toward student dissent. The majority of the anonymous articles, predominantly found in Time and Newsweek, were neutral. By combining the Neutral tabulation with either the Pro or Con count, the direction various author categories do not take can be obtained. For example, by combining the Pro and Neutral count for the category of Career Writers it becomes evident that two-thirds of the articles by this category of writers are not negative toward student dissent. On the other hand, for the category Editorial Reflection, one can say that 70.0 per cent of the articles authored by that group are not positive toward student dissent.

Organizations

As each article was analyzed, the names of student dominated organizations specifically identified with organized dissent activity were noted on the code sheets. Many of the articles made specific allusion to more than one organization while some articles chose not to identify specifically any group. Fifty-eight (42.3%) of the articles fell into this latter category; of the remaining 79 articles, there were 109 mentions of various organizations associated with a specific description of organized student dissent.

Just as the three weekly news magazines (Newsweek, Time, and U. S. News and World Report) accounted for the majority of the anonymous articles in the sample, so did they account for

a large percentage (48.3%) of those articles not specifically identifying any organization with student dissent.

The organization mentioned most frequently was the Free Speech Movement (FSM). This was an ad hoc coalition of campus groups and individuals which included both extremes and the middle of the political spectrum on the Berkeley campus of the University of California during the 1964-65 revolt there.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was the second most frequently mentioned student organization, being identified in twelve of the sixteen magazines and accounting for 26.6 per cent of the mentions of organizations. The other organizations received less attention from the consumer magazines. Several of these, such as SLATE (a campus political party at the University of California at Berkeley), Turn Toward Peace, Progressive Labor Party, Young Socialist Alliance, May Second Movement, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and several temporarily organized local groups (San Francisco Sexual Freedom League, Students for Academic Freedom at Howard University) received occasional mention in the magazines but did not occupy sufficient attention to warrant specific tabulation here.

Issues

Peterson's study of the extent of organized student protest in 1964-65 included a list of twenty-seven statements on which student protest might focus. Through a factoring process Peterson, Sasajima, and Davis developed from these statements six protest factors which they labeled as follows: Quality of Instruction, Faculty Affairs, Administrative Paternalism, Political Extremist Visitors, Civil Rights, and U. S. Militarism.[11] In the pilot experiment preceding this study, it was determined that it

[11]Richard E. Peterson, Masu Sasajima, and Junius A. Davis, "Organized Student Protest and Institutional Climate," American Educational Research Journal, Vol. 5 (May, 1968), pp. 292-93.

would be profitable to add a seventh issue, this being "Student Political Involvement."

Three issues stand out as attracting considerable more attention (a combined total of 79.2 per cent of all mentions) than the other issue categories included in the analysis: U.S. Militarism accounted for 40.5 per cent of the total issues discussed in the articles; Student Political Involvement for 25.2 per cent; and Civil Rights for 13.5 per cent.

The Civil Rights issue is the only issue of the principal three occurring in a majority of articles reacting positively to the phenomenon under discussion. As a partial explanation, it might be conjectured that for the magazines to oppose student protest activity expressly directed toward achieving greater civil rights for Negroes might be interpreted as an editorial expression against civil rights itself, which would likely be considered an unwise editorial policy. Student protest against U.S. military policy or for greater student political involvement is far more radical, hence a less acceptable position to the general public than advocating civil rights, something which the great majority of the nation will support, at least vocally. Therefore, in keeping with the earlier expressed theory that the mass press is at once a reflection and a shaper-reinforcer of public opinion, one could almost expect general consumer magazines to present these two issues in a negative environment.

Context

Readers' attitudes toward student dissent are likely shaped by the setting in which an author chooses to cast an article on this topic. As should be expected, the authors of some magazine articles found it convenient to present the topic in an area as complex and controversial as student dissent, this may well be the most intelligent and comprehensive manner for structuring such an article. On the other hand, some articles, usually those shorter, less insightful articles presented in weekly newsmagazines, presented a straightforward account of an incident involving organized student dissent activity without developing a specific contextual setting at all; of the 137 articles analyzed this was the case in thirteen instances. In the remaining 124 articles, there were 147 indications of a specific context in which the acting out of protest activity

occurred.

Of those articles cast in a specific context, the largest portion (36.0%) were cast in the framework of demonstrating the need for political reform. These articles centered on dissent generated by expressed need for effective anti-capital punishment legislation; the right to demonstrate against a legislative committee, principally the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC); the need to revise U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia; the Washington demonstrations in favor of a nuclear test ban treaty; the 1965 march on Washington to dramatize the need for civil rights legislation, and similar.

Personal-Social Characteristics

It was conjectured by the investigator that in order to convey an understanding of student dissent activity, the articles to be included for analysis might be expected to make statements on the personal-social characteristics of the students involved in protest activity. Unlike newspaper reporters, magazine journalists usually have time to research their topic in the effort to probe beneath the observable surface of a situation. It seemed logical to assume that in preparing an article for publication in one of the general consumer magazines, a reporter-author would likely find it beneficial to his audience to include statements on the psychological traits, the socio-economic bakcgrounds, the academic interests, the intellectual abilities, and/or the political orientation of students or other participants associated with student dissent. Provision was made for coding data found in the articles comprising the population on these characteristics in an effort to make possible the compilation of data to provide a composite picture of student protestors.

Indications of the socio-economic backgrounds of student dissenters of their families were virtually nonexistent. A similar dearth of data was encountered in the examination of articles for information relating to the academic interests of student protestors. Of the 137 articles taken from sixteen magazines covering an eight year time span, not a single mention of the intellectual orientation of students involved in dissent was found. Finally, as noted in the

Framework for Analysis, provision was made for tabulating the political orientation of participants in organized student dissent as depicted. Four traditional categories were postulated: Conservative, Middle-of-the-Road, Liberal, and Left, with one additional relevant for the time, New Left.

New Left proved to be the most frequently mentioned category in the sample, with twenty different mentions in thirteen magazines. The traditional Left received ten mentions. The great majority of the articles (82.5%) in all magazines made no reference at all to the political orientation of the students who comprised the central focus of their articles.

Observation and Conclusions

It has been the premise of this investigator in the conceptualization of this study that the communications media constitute one important element in both reinforcing and creating public attitudes toward social phenomena such as organized student dissent to their readers may be very influential in the success or defeat of the aims championed by the dissidents. Further, the theoretical framework around which this study is built maintains that there is inherent conflict between the press and the concept of student dissent. By the nature of their relations to society the two seem fore-ordained to incompatability.

The following significant conclusions derive from the findings:

1. The number of articles published in the general circulation magazines on the subject of organized student dissent does reflect, with a slight time lag, the intensity of the student movement itself.

2. Student dissent activity originally rising out of the nonviolent dimension of the civil rights movement has become increasingly violent.

3. Those magazines which tend to reflect negatively on organized student dissent activity have large circulations (average: 5,499,294) while those

magazines which tend to reflect consistently positively on student dissent have relatively small circulations (average: 122,968).

4. The disclosure in the general circulation magazines of the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Michigan, and the University of Wisconsin (Madison) as the three institutions most frequently identified as scenes of organized student dissent activity, tends to reinforce the findings of Seymour M. Lipset, Richard E. Peterson, and other scholars in the area of student dissent who also cite these institutions as centers of organized student dissent activity.

5. Editorial reflections in the general circulation magazines tend to reflect negatively on organized student dissent, while professional career writers and university-related authors tend to reflect positively.

6. As reflected in the magazines, the three dominant issues which motivate dissent activity have been U. S. militarism, student political involvement, and civil rights. This compares positively with the motivating issues which emerge from a study of the history of student movement.

7. General circulation magazines are likely to cast their articles on student dissent in a context which emphasizes the need for educational reform though upon closer examination of the article this seldom turns out to be the issue which generates dissent.

8. The general circulation magazines provided disappointingly little background information on the personal-social characteristics of individuals (or their families) involved in student dissent.

9. In the context of the Framework for Analysis developed for this study, negatively oriented magazines tend to be disproportionately heavy in the "None" and "Other" categories providing some indication that the less precise, and less detailed, and perhaps less carefully researched articles tended to be negative and the more detailed, more precise articles tended to be favorable.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study raises pertinent questions about the manner in which articles on student protest are presented in a magazine context. For example, what is the length (in words or column inches) of articles on student dissent activity? What proportion of total magazine content do such articles occupy? In relation to the content devoted to higher education, what proportion concerns student dissent activity? Is there a significant correlation between the length of an article and the attitudinal direction the article takes? Examined independently, what is the nature (in terms of content, direction, and general relationship to the article) of photographs or other illustrational material accompanying articles on student protest? Similarly what is the nature of titles to article content?

Such questions as these lend themselves to quantification and could be solved almost mechanically through the application of traditional concepts of content analysis. The answers to such questions would provide insight into the built-in biases (or lack of them) of the presentation of information about a social phenomenon to the general public. The direct impact of such biases on the formation of public opinion may be impossible to determine, but it would be foolhardy to deny that such an impact does exist. Knowledge of the extent and direction of these biases could prove very useful on both the pure and applied levels, appealing to the social scientist and the professional journalist respectively and simultaneously.

Application of the methodological procedures developed in this study could be applied to other levels, or types, of periodical publications. The population examined here could be compared

with a sample of articles dealing with the same topic drawn from the professional education journals, and/or a similarly analyzed sample from newspapers. Berelson sees the comparison of such "profile" data as presented in the popular press with similar data in scientific or scholarly publications as among the most promising applications of the content analysis methodology.[12]

Other questions, perhaps depending upon the personal bent of the researcher, are likely to be raised as the result of the current study. The issue of student dissent is one of the most widely discussed and most controversial topics of the day; an impressive body of work, theoretical and empirical, is available on this phenomenon and its ramifications for the modern university. Yet, the problems raised in the web of relationships binding student protest, the university, and contemporary society remain relatively untouched. It is hoped that this study can serve in some modest way to open the door to further research in this vital and interesting area.

[12]Berelson, op. cit., p. 39.

PART IV

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF STATEMENTS CONCERNING STUDENTS ON STUDENT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FROM POLICY MANUALS OF GOVERNING BOARDS IN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

by
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Mounting student dissatisfaction in American colleges today is a subject of growing concern. Some causes of dissent are local in origin; others are nation-wide in scope. They have been reported by mass media, interpreted by educators, and discussed by numerous publics. One of the major questions posed is this: Do college students have the same rights as non-college-attending American citizens or may the colleges restrict the exercise of student freedom by the imposition of additional regulations? With this, an attendant question arises: Are there responsibilities which are inextricably linked with student rights?

Authoritative answers to these and related questions can come only from those with the power, bestowed by law, for governance of the campus. It is the governing board--trustees, regents or other comparable name--which is looked to for the identification of problems, the rendering of decisions, and the resolution of conflicts.

Morton Rauh, in surveying the present campus scene, speaks of the "campuses where the roars of dissonance are penetrating even the cloistered settings of the board room."[1] Throughout the years, there has been criticism directed against governing boards, with one of the more noteworthy attacks made by Veblen in 1918 when he stated: "They have ceased to exercise any function other than a bootless meddling with academic matters which they do not understand."[2]

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[1] Morton A. Rauh, "The College Trustee--Past, Present, and Future," Journal of Higher Education, XL (1969), 431.

[2] Thorstein Veblen, "The Higher Learning," The Portable Veblen, edited by Max Lerner (New York: The Viking Press, 1948), p. 511.

The power and dominant role of the governing board, however, have been well established despite critical statements such as Veblen's. The Dartmouth College case, in which the college president and state legislators opposed the Board of Trustees on the fundamental issue of college control and subsequently lost, tended to confirm the dominant role of the college trustee. The question which most frequently arises concerns the specific involvement of the board in matters concerning the institution. The law is clear as to the ultimate power of the board, but agreement as to the board's exact duties is far from being attained.

Over the years, most trustees have delegated matters relating to students to the administration of the college, retaining only modest contact through committee participation. But in the wake of events at Berkeley and Columbia, trustees have become increasingly more involved in student affairs. Since the governing board of the public institution is ultimately responsible to all of the people, it feels pressure not only from the campus but also from the general public. The taxpayers who underwrite the majority expenses of public higher education have demanded that governing boards bring campuses under control. With this heightened involvement, there comes the obligation for designating standards by which students can be adjudged in their development. Herron summarizes:

> An institution must determine if there have been devised clear statements of policy to guide the governing board, the president, the administration, and the faculty as well as the students. The governing board needs unequivocal statements as to its mission and its responsibilities....[1]

In a 1968 survey by Hartnett, the views of 5,200 trustees, as individuals, are reported in relation to academic freedom and governance. Hartnett concludes from

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[1] Orley R. Herron, Jr., The Role of the Trustees (Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1969), p. 151.

his survey that "... the trustees are somewhat generally cautious regarding the notion of academic freedom."[1] He affirms that conflicts of trustees with faculty and administration relative to student freedoms are not at all surprising.

A study by Corin examined policy manuals of fifty-seven governing boards of major American public universities. The review was concerned with the actual inclusion or exclusion of policy items but did not concern itself with analyzing or evaluating the contents of the policy items themselves.[2] In the analysis, it was determined that only five of the board manuals (9 per cent of all the manuals) referred to student-board relationships, this being the single weakest area in the manuals. Accordingly, Corin recommended "... that since it is especially desirable to put into written form policies dealing with controversial subjects, this objective be given high priority."[3]

Relevant Documents

In February of 1965, the American Civil Liberties Union published a revised edition of its statement, Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities. The document sets forth the principles

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1 Rodney T. Hartnett, College and University Trustees: Their Backgrounds, Roles and Educational Attitudes (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1969), (The attitudes surveyed were summarized according to the type of institution on whose board the trustee served.)

2 Theodore S. Corin, "An Analysis of the Policy Manuals of Governing Boards of Major American Public Universities" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Florida State University, December, 1964), p. 7.

3 Ibid., p. 157.

relating to the rights and responsibilities of students on the campus while stating that limitations on the freedom of students should be set at an absolute minimum.

In 1966, the Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities was formulated by the American Association of University Professors, the American Council on Education, and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges. The statement proposes that "... the governing board of an institution of higher education in the United States operates, with few exceptions, as the final institutional authority."[1]

A very significant document under the title of Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students emerges from the work of Committee S of the American Association of University Professors, beginning in 1961. Joining with this organization were four other sponsoring groups--the United States National Student Association, the Association of American Colleges, the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, and the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors. After several years marked by discussion and revision, the statement was adopted in 1967-1968 by the five sponsoring organizations together with a number of other professional organizations including the American Association of Higher Education, the American College Personnel Association, the Jesuit Educational Association Commission on Colleges and Universities, and the Commission on Student Personnel of the American Association of Junior Colleges.

The categories covered in the Joint Statement are these:

I. Freedom of Access to Higher Education

II. In the Classroom
   A. Protection of Freedom of Expression
   B. Protection Against Improper Academic Evaluation
   C. Protection Against Improper Disclosure

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[1] Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities (Washington: American Association of University Professors, 1966), p. 9.

III. Student Records

IV. Student Affairs
- A. Freedom of Association
- B. Freedom of Inquiry and Expression
- C. Student Participation in Institutional Government
- D. Student Publications

V. Off-Campus Freedom of Students
- A. Exercise of Rights of Citizenship
- B. Institutional Authority and Civil Penalties

VI. Procedural Standards in Disciplinary Proceedings
- A. Standards of Conduct Expected of Students
- B. Investigation of Student Conduct
- C. Status of Student Pending Final Action
- D. Hearing Committee Procedures[1]

One of the enforcement provisions referred to by the five sponsoring organizations in their endorsements is "... to request regional accrediting associations to embody the principles of the agreement in their standards for accreditation."[2] If such a request were to be met, the governing boards of institutions of higher education would be obliged to examine their policies in reference to the provisions set forth in the Joint Statement.

Citing the implications of the emerging legal rights for students, Robert B. Yegge, Dean of the College of Law, University of Denver, comments:

> A summary review of the Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms...reveals the solid legal foundation of that statement. Therein are found directives that due process, equal protection, privacy, freedom

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[1] "Administrator's Handbook: Understanding the Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students," College and University Business, XLI (July, 1968), pp. 33-36.

[2] Ibid., p. 36.

of expression be observed, and in loco parentis be modified, if not abolished.[1]

In 1963, Williamson and Cowan undertook a study of the contemporary issues of student academic freedom. In their report, they predict:

> Someday there will be court review of the relevancy of trustees' actions with regard to means of establishing freedoms and rights. In fact, there has already been some indication that courts will require trustees to exercise their authority over students with due regard to the nature of the collegiate mission and the relevancy of their actions to that mission, as well as to the citizenship of students.[2]

Confronted with student demonstration and dissent, governing boards may adhere to policies now established or develop new policies. These pronouncements are made public through statements appearing in the manuals and related documents issued by the boards.

Focus on the Problem

The method used for investigation of the problem relating to contemporary student rights and responsibilities was a content analysis of the statements appearing in the official policies of governing boards of institutions which have membership in the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC).

The population for the study consisted of all 84 governing boards which control the 113 institutions which are members of the National Association of State

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1 Robert B. Yegge, "Emerging Legal Rights for Students," in Stress and Campus Response, Current Issues in Higher Education Series, ed. by G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968), p. 88.

2 E. G. Williamson and John L. Cowan, "Academic Freedom for Students: Issues and Guidelines," The College and the Student, Lawrence E. Dennis and Joseph [illegible] Kaufman, eds. (Washington: American Council on Education, 1966), p. 260.

Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC). These institutions, while enrolling nearly 30 per cent of all students in the nation's colleges, award about 30 per cent of all four-year bachelor's and first professional degrees, 40 per cent of all master's degrees, and 60 per cent of all doctorates.[1]

In implementing the study, the investigator posed five general questions:

1. Are there differences among the accrediting regions in the number and scope of policies on student rights and responsibilities as published by governing boards in policy manuals and related documents?

2. Do the policy manuals and related documents of governing boards generally assert the authority of the individual institutions to develop further definitions and descriptions of the rights and responsibilities of students under their jurisdictions?

3. Has there been an increase since 1964 in the number and scope of statements on student rights and responsibilities published in official policy manuals and related documents of governing boards?

4. Do the official policies of governing boards incorporate the issues covered in the Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students?

5. Do official written governing board policies contain more statements concerning student responsibility and consequences of non-responsibility than they do about student rights?

Data Collection

A letter requesting policy manuals containing statements on student rights and responsibilities was sent to the executive secretary or chairman of the governing board of each institution on January 6, 1970.

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[1] 1970 Fact Book: National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (Washington: National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 1970), p. 2.

At the same time, a letter was sent to the presidents, by name, of each institution in the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges asking their assistance in obtaining the policy manuals from their governing boards. On March 9, 1970, a follow-up letter of request was sent to each governing board from which there had been no response. An additional letter was sent to the boards which had earlier responded that they were in process of revising their manuals. In order to make a trend analysis, a group of 33 common 1963-64 board policy manuals was obtained from Theodore Corin which he had used in his general study of policy manuals.

A Framework for Analysis was developed to provide a guide for synthesizing and analyzing the policies. Using procedures outlined by Berelson,[1] the investigator constructed the Framework through the following means: (1) preliminary analysis of several governing board manuals; (2) review of the literature and research relative to student rights and responsibilities; (3) analysis of the Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students, the Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities, and the document on Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities; as well as various professional opinions expressed by the supervisory committee members. The Framework categories were:

I. General
   - A. Statement that the board has authority to make policies
   - B. Statement that gives authority to institutions to make additional policies
   - C. Statement on non-discrimination of policies and procedures
   - D. Statement on the general philosophy and need for student rights and responsibilities

II. Inquiry and Expression
   - A. Statement on the general right of the student to engage in non-disruptive inquiry and expression

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[1] Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), p. 18.

1. Statement that student has specific right to freedom of verbal inquiry and expression in the classroom
2. Statement that student has the specific right of appeal of alleged improper academic evaluation
3. Statement that student has specific right to engage in non-disruptive physical inquiry and expression

B. Statement that any disruptive action will not be accepted
C. Statement on the policies and procedures governing the invitation to outside speakers
D. Statement on the general use of facilities by students

III. Association and Organization
A. Statement on the basic role of student government
B. Statement on the general status of other student organizations
1. Statement on specific membership policies of student organizations
2. Statement on the need for and responsibilities of campus advisors
3. Statement on the procedures and policies for institutional recognition of organizations
4. Statement on the status of fraternities and/or sororities
5. Statement on Students for a Democratic Society
6. Statement on the need for auditing and other fiscal policies of student organizations

C. Statement on the involvement of students on campus-wide committees
D. Statement concerning the office of Ombudsman

IV. Student Publications
A. Statement on the general status of student publications
B. Statement on specific procedures for approval of copy
C. Statement on the specific procedure for choosing and removing editors
D. Statement on the specific policies for the financing of student publications

V. Student Records
A. Statement on the general need for student records

B. Statement on the specific types of information to be kept on permanent file
C. Statement on the specific personnel who have access to records
D. Statement on the specific procedures for release of information in records
E. Statement on the specific status of non-current records

VI. Code of Conduct--General Policies and Procedures
A. Statement on the general need for a code of conduct
B. Statement on the specific procedure for development of the code of conduct
C. Statement on the publication of the code
D. Statement on the status of the student with institutional authorities in relation to civil penalties
E. Statement on the sanctions or types of punishments imposed for violation of the code
F. Statement on the jurisdiction or enforcement responsibility for the code
G. Statement on the search of student premises
H. Statement on the makeup of the hearing committee

VII. Code of Conduct Standards
(Statement on specific standards of code of conduct)
A. Value or Honor Oriented
1. Dishonesty-cheating
2. Fraud of Records
3. Theft and Related Unauthorized Entry
4. Gambling
5. Immoral, Indecent, or Obscene Conduct
6. Bribery
7. Lying
8. Failure to report suspected violations
9. Duplication of keys
B. Health or Safety Oriented
1. Alcohol
2. Drugs
3. Hazing
4. Dangerous Physical or Mental Illness
5. Firearms and/or Fireworks
6. Traffic--Motor Vehicles
7. Smoking
8. General Safety Regulations
9. Climbing of Buildings or Other Structures
C. Administrative Oriented
1. Living or Housing Standards
2. Non-Compliance with University Officials

3. Financial Irresponsibility
4. Solicitation on Campus
5. Social Regulations of Activities
6. Anonymous Publications
7. Violating University Contracts
8. Failure to Report Correct Address

VIII. Code of Conduct--Specific Aspects of Due Process
- A. Statement on the need for and the general provisions of due process
- B. Statement on the need for and procedures of informing suspected student of charges
- C. Statement on the time between charges and the hearing
- D. Statement on the right of a student to have an advisor
- E. Statement on the format or procedures of the hearing itself
- F. Statement on the record of the hearing
- G. Statement on the appeal or review procedures
- H. Statement on the status of the student pending final action

Findings Relevant to the Problem

The eighty-four governing boards which constituted the population of this study were comprised of at least one and no more than five boards within each of the fifty states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. These boards have legal jurisdiction over the 113 members of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC). About one-half of these boards have jurisdiction over more than one institution, many of which are not members of the Association.

Seventy-nine of the eighty-four boards comprising 94 per cent of the sample contacted responded to the communication requesting policy documents. These 79 boards represented all of the states but one. The types of policy documents or statements received from respondents are shown in Table 1.

The number of boards located within each of the regional accrediting associations and participating in the study is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 1

TYPES OF MATERIALS OR STATEMENTS
RECEIVED FROM RESPONDENTS

Types of Materials or Statements	Number of Boards	Per Cent
Boards Sending Approved Written Policies		
Comprehensive policy manual and/or by-laws	11	13
Sections of policy manual	6	7
Separate statements on rights and responsibilities	30	36
Excerpts within student or faculty handbooks	3	4
Complete student or faculty handbooks	5	6
Sub-total	55	66
Boards Not Sending Approved Written Policies		
Non-approved student or faculty handbooks	9	11
Cannot send outside system	1	1
No manual or statement exists	8	9
In process of development	6	7
Sub-total	24	28
Boards Not Responding to Requests	5	6
Total	64	100

TABLE 2

BOARDS PARTICIPATING IN STUDY ARRANGED BY ACCREDITING REGION

Accrediting Association	Number of Boards	Number of Respon-dents	Percentage of Re-spondents	Number Sending Approved Written Policies	Percentage Sending Approved Written Policies
Middle States	10	9	90	5	50
New England	7	7	100	4	57
North Central	31	29	94	22	71
Northwest	9	9	100	5	55
Southern	25	23	92	18	72
Western	2	2	100	1	50
TOTALS	84	79	94	55	65

Each document submitted by each board was examined to determine whether it contained a statement of policy dealing with the seventy-two categories relative to student rights and responsibilities which were listed in the Framework for Analysis. Only those policies clearly designated as receiving governing board approval were rated. The score of "one" (1) was given to a board that included a given category while a score of "zero" (0) was given to a board that failed to include that category.

Note: This method of scoring is shown for Section I: General Policies but is not repeated for the analysis of the seven remaining sections for reasons of space limitations in this condensation of the larger work.

Section I: General Policies

Scores for each of the fifty-five governing boards on Section I are presented in Table 3. A study of the scores reveals that 5, or 9 per cent, of the boards have policies on each of the issues within this section while 6, or 11 per cent, of the boards fail to meet any of the criteria. Forty-nine, or 89 per cent, of the boards indicate at least one policy item within this section. The mean scores of categories per board for the section on general policies was 1.89 which is 47 per cent of the maximum score possible.

Item IA. General: Statement that the board has authority to make policies. This item was included and scored "one" if within the policies there was either a direct statement (or reference to the charters or state statutes) that the board has the authority to make policies and to govern the institution. Thirty (30), or 55 per cent, of the fifty-five policy documents contained such a statement. In the case of these thirty boards, it was clear that the boards had the legal authority to make such statements.

Item 1B. General: Statement that gives authority to institutions to make additional policies. If the statement was merely that the institutional authorities had to carry out board policy, the item was scored "zero." If the statement noted that institutions could make policies in addition to the board policies, the item was scored "one." The scores on this item pointed out that 25, or 45 per cent, of the boards specifically stated that the various institutions had the authority and/or the obligation to make additional policies.

Item IC. General: Statement on non-discrimination of policies and procedures. Fifteen, or 27 per cent, of the boards made a specific statement prohibiting discrimination as part of the policies on student rights and responsibilities.

Item 1D: General: Statement on the general philosophy and need for student rights and responsibilities. This item was rated "one" if there was some type of preamble or general philosophy statement on the necessity of both rights and responsibilities. The item was not rated "one" if the statement was specific enough to fall under one of the other categories. Thirty-four, or 62 per cent, of the boards met this criterion.

TABLE 3

SCORES FOR SECTION I: GENERAL POLICIES

Board Number	Item IA. Board Authority	IB. Institutional Authority	IC. Non-Discrimination	ID. General Philosophy	Total
Middle States					
1	1	1	1	1	4
2	0	1	0	1	2
3	1	0	0	1	2
4	1	1	0	1	3
5	1	1	1	1	4
New England					
6	1	1	1	0	3
7	0	0	0	1	1
8	1	1	0	1	3
9	0	0	0	1	1
North Central					
10	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	1	0	1
13	0	0	0	1	1
14	1	1	0	1	3
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	0	1	0	2
17	1	1	0	1	3
18	1	0	0	0	1
19	0	0	0	1	1
20	0	0	0	1	1
21	0	0	0	0	0
22	1	1	0	1	3
23	0	0	1	1	2
24	1	1	0	0	2
25	1	1	0	0	2
26	1	1	0	0	2

TABLE 3.--Continued

Board Number	Item IA.	IB.	IC.	ID.	Total
27	1	1	0	0	2
28	1	0	0	1	2
29	1	1	0	1	3
30	0	0	1	0	1
31	1	1	0	1	3
Northwest & Western					
32	1	0	1	0	2
33	1	1	1	1	4
34	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	1	1	1	3
36	1	1	1	1	4
37	0	0	0	1	1
Southern					
38	1	1	0	1	3
39	1	1	1	1	4
40	1	1	0	1	3
41	0	0	0	1	1
42	1	0	0	0	1
43	0	0	1	1	2
44	1	0	0	0	1
45	1	1	0	0	2
46	0	0	0	1	1
47	0	0	0	0	0
48	1	1	0	1	3
49	0	0	1	1	2
50	0	0	0	1	1
51	0	0	0	1	1
52	0	0	0	0	0
53	1	1	0	0	2
54	1	1	1	1	4
55	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	30	25	15	34	Mean 1.89

Note: Section I: General Policies is presented in this detail including Table 3, as illustration of the investigator's method for handling the data. The following sections were treated similarly. For this detailing, the reader is directed to Chapter IV of the thesis.

Section	II:	Inquiry and Expression
Section	III:	Association and Organization
Section	IV:	Student Publications
Section	V:	Student Records
Section	VI:	Code of Conduct--General Policies and Procedures
Section	VII:	Code of Conduct Standards
Section	VIII:	Code of Conduct--Specific Aspects of Due Process

Answers to the Five General Questions Posed

The answers to questions posed by the investigator are based upon findings which are presented in tabular form in Chapter V of the dissertation. The reader is directed to a study of these tables for confirmation.

Question 1: Are there differences among the accrediting regions in the number and scope of policies on student rights and responsibilities as published by governing boards in policy manuals and related documents?

A summary of the differences between the regions shows that the New England region definitely states more policies on each of these categories of rights and responsibilities than do the other regions of the United States. The overall scores of the other regions, excluding the New England region, are very close and have a range differential in mean of only 3.29 points.

Question 2: Do the policy manuals and related documents of governing boards generally assert the authority of the individual institutions to develop further definitions and descriptions of the rights and responsibilities of students under their jurisdiction?

As noted in Table 3, 25 boards (45 per cent) do assert such authority. In addition, some boards which did not send any official board policies stated that the individual institutions did have authority to establish such policies. The consensus of the literature on the powers and duties of governing boards states that the boards do have the power to make policies governing the institution but the boards should delegate as much of this responsibility as possible. One may assume that the board believes that the institution does have the right to establish additional or interpretative policies even without the board's acknowledging that delegation in written form.

Question 3: Has there been an increase since 1964 in the number and scope of statements on student rights and responsibilities published in official policy manuals and related documents of governing boards?

In terms of increase in volume, there was a total of 135 items appearing in the written policies of the 33 boards in 1963-1964 as compared with a total of 646 items in the 1970 policies for these same 33 boards. The mean number of policies per board in 1963-1964 was 4.09 and the mean number in 1970 was 19.58. In actual increase of numbers of items, there was a percentage increase of 379 per cent between 1964 and 1970.

Question 4: Do the official written policies of governing boards incorporate the points of the Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students?

All 55 boards included at least one of the policy categories identified in the Joint Statement. Only 5 boards (9 per cent) included more than 50 per cent of the Joint Statement categories. If an analysis of the question is made in terms of whether or not a majority of the boards included at least half of the items, then governing boards have not incorporated the Joint Statement. Probably the most significant items would be in the area of due process in disciplinary proceedings where 41, or 75 per cent, of the boards have included at least one statement, and in the reference to the statement on the general philosophy and need for student rights and responsibilities where 34, or 62 per cent, include such a statement. Boards are affixing statements of responsibilities to accompany those of rights.

Question 5: Do official written governing board policies contain more statements concerning student responsibility and consequences of non-responsibility than they do about student rights?

The investigator admits that it is difficult to answer this question. Many of the policy statements by the governing boards referred to both the student rights and to the corresponding student responsibilities. A summary of the answer to the question would be that there are slightly more separate statements on student responsibilities and the consequences of non-responsibility than on student rights.

A Summarization of Findings

Section II: Inquiry and Expression provided the highest incidence of board policies, with the sections on General Policies and Code of Conduct: General Policies and Procedures following in second and third places. Sections IV and V: Student Publications and Student Records were in lowest place in view of the number of boards including them in policy manuals.

The five individual policy items which ranked highest with the number of boards including them were: (1) the statements on disruptive action; (2) the statements on the jurisdiction or enforcement responsibility of the code; (3) the statements on the general philosophy and need for student rights and responsibilities; (4) the statements on the sanctions or types of punishments imposed for violation of the code; and (5) the statement that the board has the authority to make such policies.

In addition, the following particularized findings emerged from the study:

1. At least 55 (66 per cent) of the governing boards in the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC) had official written policies on student rights and responsibilities.

2. Six additional NASULGC boards, or 11 per cent, were in the process of developing such policies.

3. The Southern and North Central accrediting regions had a higher percentage of boards with written policy manuals than the other regions.

4. The written board policies were presented in many different styles and sizes and had a wide range of different titles. Most of the policy documents were printed in a non-flexible binding which meant that updating of policies is difficult.

5. More than one-half (55 per cent) of the boards asserted their authority to make policies as part of the policy document.

6. Almost two-thirds (62 per cent) of the manuals included a general philosophical statement on the need for student rights and responsibilities.

7. Forty (40) of the boards (73 per cent) stated at least some acknowledgement of the right of the student to engage in non-disruptive inquiry and expression.

8. Forty (40) boards (73 per cent) had at least some policy statement on the non-acceptance of disruptive inquiry and expression.

9. The sections on student publications and student records were definitely the lowest in terms of the number of boards including a policy item in those categories.

10. The range of numbers of policies scored by each board was from 2 through 47 out of a maximum of 72.

11. Very few policies were concerned with student association and organization. In addition, the boards do not state policies on individual student organizations by name.

12. Fifty-three (53), or 98 per cent, of the boards made some comment about a code of conduct. Forty-one (41), or 75 per cent, of these boards made some statement on conduct due process.

13. A total of 26 different categories of specific aspects of conduct standards was listed with the items mentioned most often being: dishonesty, fraud of records, alcohol, drugs, living or housing standards, and non-compliance with university officials.

14. The rank order of regions based on the mean number of policies per board from the highest to the lowest was New England, Northwest and Western, Southern, Middle States, and North Central.

15. There were differences in the number and scope of official board policies among the accrediting regions with various regions emphasizing certain topics more than others. There was a substantial difference between the New England region and the other regions.

16. Slightly less than half of the boards included a statement that the individual institutions have the authority to establish additional policies in this area.

17. There has been a significant increase (379 per cent) since 1964 in the inclusion of policies by governing boards on student rights and responsibilities--especially policies on disruption and due process.

18. The official board policies have incorporated the policy items of the Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students at about the same rate of inclusion as other policies related to student rights and responsibilities. Even though all 55 boards included at least one policy item from the Joint Statement, only 5 boards had policies on at least 50 per cent of the Joint Statement categories.

19. Within the policies there are slightly more statements concerning student responsibilities and consequences of non-responsibility than there are about student rights.

From these summarizations, the investigator recommends as follows:

1. That all governing boards, as a minimum, develop in written form a general philosophy on student rights and responsibilities and authorize the individual institutions to develop detailed policies in this area.

2. That boards encourage the various publics, both internal and external, to develop new compacts of understanding so that rights and responsibilities can be interrelated in an effort to resolve conflicts.

3. That boards define policies related to responsibilities into two separate parts--(1) legal accountability

which comes from civil laws and (2) the additional responsibilities which come from the obligations as a member of the campus community.

4. That all boards establish clear and concise policies on the basic elements of conduct procedures and due process because of the recent legal interpretations of the civil courts in this area.

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